

A SECOND
LETTER
TO THE
CRAFTSMAN;
Relating to the
CASE
OF
EUSTACE BUDGELL, *Esq*;

*Remember Milo's End,
Wedg'd in that Timber which he strove to rend.*

Roscom

The Fourth EDITION.

L O N D O N :

Printed, and DUBLIN Re-printed, and Sold by
GEORGE FAULKNER, at the Pamphlet-Shop in *Es-*
sex-street, where all Manner of Pamphlets are Sold,
and Printing Work done Reasonably, 1730.

Vol. A. 4 f. 1240

AND

BETTER

THE

AS

THE

THE

THE

THE

THE



L

O

I

cor

A

at

Qu

t

*

Sup

Tr

8vo



A SECOND
LETTER
TO THE
CRAFTSMAN.

PATRIOTISM is so much talked of, and so little practised; that when we meet with a Man, who has sacrificed his own Interest to that of his Country, he ought to stand recorded, as a laudable Example to Posterity.

A late *plain-dealing Historian* tells us, that at a certain memorable Period of Time, Queen ANNE's * ' Ministry had much ado to manage their Point; and to prevent a
' Storm

* See *Memoirs of Queen ANNE*: Being a compleat Supplement to the History of her Reign, wherein the Transactions of the Four last Years are fully related. 8vo. Printed 1729. Page 155, & seq.

‘ Storm that threatened the new Treasurer,
 ‘ they advised the *Queen* to create TWELVE
 ‘ new Peers, some of whom were the Earl
 ‘ of *Oxford’s* near Relations, others of them
 ‘ Mr. *Saint-John’s* intimate Friends, that
 ‘ they might peradventure turn the Scales in
 ‘ that House to their own Advantage; and
 ‘ for the more Expedition, these TWELVE
 ‘ Peers were all made in *one* Day, which was
 ‘ the more remarkable, that no such Expedi-
 ‘ ent had ever been practised in any former
 ‘ Reign, nor was it ever known that such a
 ‘ Number of Peers were created at one Time.

And, continues the Historian, ‘ It would
 ‘ be almost endless to recount all the Artifi-
 ‘ ces, which were set on foot about this
 ‘ Time by the *Queen’s* Ministers and their A-
 ‘ gents, to impose as well on their Friends,
 ‘ as on those who opposed them.

This, Mr. *D’ Anvers*, is a plain and true
 Recital of Matter of Fact, and the Conse-
 quences of it are too fatally felt by the whole
 Kingdom. After this *Creation* of Peers by
 the *Dozen*, the *South-Sea-Scheme* took its
 Turn, and how well *that* answered, is like-
 wise as manifest. To these succeeded another
 Attack upon the *Peerage*.

In the Year 1719, there was published by
J. Roberts, near the *Oxford-Arms* in *War-*
wick Lane, a Quarto Pamphlet, intitled,

The

To the Craftsman:

v

The MODERATOR Numb. I.

To be continued occasionally.

The ARGUMENTS for and against such a BILL as is talked of for Regulating the PEERAGE, fairly stated. With some REFLECTIONS upon the whole. By a MEMBER of Parliament.

————MEDIO Tutissimus————

I here transmit it to you for the Publick Good. This Piece came to a *second* Edition in a few Days, and Mr. *Budgell* (who tho' a Member of Parliament in *Ireland*) was then in *England*; what he says in the *Postscript* to the *Sixth* Edition of his LETTER, I know to be true, that by his Attachment to Sir *R. W.* he not only disoblged the late Earl of *Sunderland*, but another Person, for whom, I am sure, he had the utmost esteem. The Person here meant, was Mr. *Addison*, who was at that time Secretary to the Earl of *Sunderland*, then First Minister of State. And Mr. *Budgell* was no small Sufferer on both these Accounts.

That Mr. *Budgell* made the first Attack upon the *South-Sea Directors*, may not perhaps be credited by his bare Affirmation of it in his LETTER, page 14. But I hope it will appear Fact to a Demonstration, from the two Speeches he not only made; but Printed in the Year 1720.

At

At a General Court of the said Company, held at *Merchant-Taylors Hall*, in *Threadneedle-street*, on *Thursday* the 8th Day of *September*, on Special Affairs, Mr. *Budgell* addressing himself to Sir *John Fellows*, Bart. and Sub-Governour, thus delivered himself, viz.

Sir *John Fellows*,

‘ I THINK no Gentleman need make any
‘ Apology for speaking in a Case where
‘ the *Publick*, and his own *Private Fortune*,
‘ are both at Stake.

‘ No Man can wish better than I do to this
‘ great, I wish I could say, this flourishing
‘ Company; I hope I shall very shortly be
‘ able to call it so; in the mean time, as we
‘ are all embarked in the same Bottom, and
‘ must Sink or Swim together, I think it eve-
‘ ry Man’s Duty to lay his Hand to the Rope,
‘ and help to weather the present Storm as
‘ well as we can.

‘ I am glad to see the Proceedings of this
‘ general Court so very different from thole
‘ of the last; for you must give me leave to
‘ say, Sir, that in my poor Opinion, if there
‘ had been a Design laid at that Time to have
‘ sunk the Stock, nothing could have done
‘ it more effectually. Your Stock was then
‘ sinking; every Man’s Expectation was rai-
‘ sed upon your calling a General Court; a
‘ general Court did meet, but not one new
‘ Step

‘ Step was taken in it to support the Stock. I
‘ rejoice to see those * two Gentlemen be-
‘ hind your Chair, whose Credit no body can
‘ doubt, whose Capacities no body can Ques-
‘ tion appear so very hearty now in our Com-
‘ mon Cause. I am very glad Sir, to find,
‘ that since the *Mountain* will not come to
‘ *Mahomet*, *Mahomet* is going to the *Moun-*
‘ *tain*; or in other Words, that since you
‘ cannot raise your Stock to your *Subscripti-*
‘ *ons*, you are prudently bringing down your
‘ *Subscriptions* to your *Stock*.

‘ I confess, Sir, I was always afraid
‘ that the *British South-Sea* was growing a
‘ *Monster*, too big for all the Money in *Eu-*
‘ *rope* to support; and that such a prodigious
‘ Leap, as from a Subscription of 400*l.* to
‘ one of 1000*l.* had left such a Gap in the
‘ Building, as could one Time or other bring
‘ it to the Ground; but I hope and believe,
‘ that the wise and prudent Measures you are
‘ now taking, will make the whole Plan so
‘ firm and solid, so uniform and consistent
‘ with itself, that it may for the future, de-
‘ spite the Attempts of all its Enemies.

‘ I believe there has been a great deal
‘ of Art, a great deal of Industry used by ill-
‘ designing Men to beat down the Stock to
‘ the Price it now bears; but the most artful
‘ Story

* *Mr. Craggs, sen. and Mr. Pulteney, who had both spoke
before.*

‘ Story, the most malicious Falshood that our
‘ Enemies have given out, is, that *Two* or
‘ *Three* of our very Directors, that some of
‘ your own Body, Sir, have basely betrayed
‘ the Trust repos’d in them, and been the
‘ chief Causes of the present Confusions.

‘ I confess Sir, I can never believe
‘ that Men, who have never had the Honour
‘ to be trusted with the Fortunes of so many
‘ of their Fellow-Subjects, could engage in
‘ so base a Design.

‘ The present Circumstances of Things, have
‘ made the Place of a Director of the *South-Sea*
‘ Company, a Post of as much Consequence as
‘ any perhaps in the Administration of Publick
‘ Affairs; and it is very certain, Men in this
‘ Post might, if they were wicked enough,
‘ get a great deal of Money at the Expence
‘ of those who intrusted them: But should
‘ any offer to raise an over-grown Fortune by
‘ so scandalous a Method, it is impossible to
‘ think that they could be safe in the Enjoy-
‘ ment of it. They might indeed Sir, buy
‘ large Estates, and gilt Chariots; but I be-
‘ lieve they would scarce venture to ride in
‘ them through the Streets of *London*.

‘ I have only touch’d upon this Sir, to shew
‘ how unlikely, how improbable a Falshood
‘ the Malice of our Enemies has invented.
‘ Your Proprietors place a a firm Trust and
‘ Con-

Confidence in your self, and the Majority of your Directors; and I hope we shall all act with new Vigour and Resolution, from the Example you have set us. I am glad to find, that a neighbouring * Company have at last agreed with us. I think we are all of us oblig'd to them for their Assistance; yet give me leave to say Sir, that had they refus'd it, I hope we had still Spirit enough left to have help'd ourselves.

When our gracious Governor comes Home, and is again at our Head, I believe I may venture to say, there are no reasonable Privileges but may be expected from a British Parliament, by a Company who have already discharg'd so large a Part of the National Debt.

I Believe when the Resolutions which have been propos'd (to which I heartily consent) are pass'd, your Proprietors will readily and unanimously return you their Thanks, for the Pains you have lately taken: Yet I own I would not have this look'd upon as a Thing of meer Form, and never to be denied you.

I hope, Sir, you will please to remember, against our next general Meeting, that the only Way to receive the real and unfeign'd Thanks of this great Assembly, will be to deserve them.

B

Mr.

* The Bank.

Mr. *Budgell* having ended his Speech, Mr. *Chester*, one of the *honest* Directors opened his Mouth in Vindication of that *Body*, of whom, he said, *he* had the Honour to be a Member.

On the last Day of *September*, the next General Court was held, which Sir *John Fellowes* opened with a Speech, and whom Mr. *Budgell* a second Time address'd as follows.

Sir *John Fellowes*,
 ' **N**O Man can have an *English* Heart, and
 be at present insensible of the Calamities of his Country. The Credit of our
 ' Nation, that has hitherto been sacred and
 ' inviolable, that has stood the Shock of so
 ' many Wars, the Rage of different Parties,
 ' and all the Efforts of our common Enemies, is, at present, on the very Brink of
 ' Destruction. Our *Imaginary Wealth* is melting away, while we fancy our selves in the
 ' Possession of it. Every Transfer-Day brings
 ' on the Ruin of an hundred Families, and
 ' there is scarce a Gentleman who hears me,
 ' but has felt the dismal Effects of what has
 ' lately happen'd, either in himself, his Relations or his Friends.

' Not only private Men, but our most
 ' substantial Goldsmiths, and even whole
 ' Companies, stop Payment. 'Tis almost
 ' become

‘ become unfashionable not to be a Bankrupt.

‘ The Reason of this is plain; our Specie
‘ begins to sink beneath the Weight of our
‘ Paper Credit; and unless some Time be gi-
‘ ven to People to recover their Fears, and
‘ recal their Money from *Holland* and *Portu-
‘ gal*, whither they have remitted it, in Search
‘ of new *Mississippies*, every thinking Man
‘ must dread the Consequence.

‘ I own, Sir, I am sorry to see that our
‘ Countrymen, who were so much elated
‘ with Prosperity, are so very much cast
‘ down on the Turn of the Tide. I think
‘ their Fears now as much too great, as their
‘ Hopes were before. Yet these Fears do us
‘ all an infinite Prejudice: The whole Body
‘ is hurt, while the Necessities and Appre-
‘ hensions of particular Men are now call’d
‘ the Price of the Stock.

‘ Should the Roof of this great Hall,
‘ where we are sitting, happen to crack, and
‘ every Body throng to the Door to get out
‘ at once, how many in the Company must,
‘ of Necessity, be stifled. This Comparison
‘ with our present Way of acting, is too
‘ plain to need any Explanation.

‘ Sir, * if that Gentleman, who calls for the
‘ Question,

* Here a Gent'leman call'd for the Question.

‘ Question, has any Thing more material to
‘ say, than what I am going to offer, I shall
‘ hear him with the same Patience, I now
‘ desire he will hear me.

‘ I cannot doubt Sir, but you, and your
‘ Directors, have made the best Bargain with
‘ the Annuitants, and the third and fourth
‘ Subscribers, that the present State of Affairs
‘ will permit. You are, or ought to be, the
‘ best Judges of what is for the Advantage of
‘ the Company; yet, I find, some People
‘ seem to wish you had waited a little longer
‘ for better Days, when, at the same Time,
‘ you might have declared a Dividend.

‘ I shall heartily and readily consent to all
‘ the Resolutions you have laid before us,
‘ except one. I observe, Sir, as your Secre-
‘ tary read them, that you intend to deliver
‘ out the Receipts of the third and fourth
‘ Subscriptions, in the same Form they were
‘ to have been at first. Every Gentleman
‘ must see, with half an Eye, the Design of
‘ this is, that all the exorbitant Bargains made
‘ for the Receipts of those two Subscrip-
‘ tions, should remain good and valid; but
‘ whether when you have contracted your
‘ whole Plap, when every thing is so alter’d
‘ from what it was at the Time those Bargains
‘ were made, this is just and reasonable, will,
‘ I believe, very well deserve our farther
‘ Consideration.

‘ Our

‘ Our Building, tho’ much lessen’d is, I
‘ am satisfy’d, become much stronger ; and
‘ I hope to see some Parts of it still so ligh-
‘ ten’d, that the middling sort of People
‘ (who are the Bulk of the Nation) may be
‘ able to purchase Shares with us. There
‘ was once, Sir, a Spirit among these People,
‘ which, if instead of being wholly damp’d,
‘ it had been directed into a proper Channel,
‘ might, in my Opinion, have been of ve-
‘ ry great Service to this Company. Methinks
‘ I would have it the Interest of every Rank
‘ and Degree of Men among us, to contri-
‘ bute to the Support of this great Scheme,
‘ which is at present interwoven with, and
‘ become a Part of our very Constitution.

‘ Should any common Enemy take the Ad-
‘ vantage of our present Disorders, Heaven
‘ alone knows what would be the Conse-
‘ quence ! But we have this Comfort, at least,
‘ amidst all our Confusions, that some of our
‘ Neighbours are in as bad a Condition as
‘ ourselves ; though, as wise Men ought to
‘ take Example by the Misfortune of others,
‘ I confess, Sir, it is to me very unaccounta-
‘ ble that we should split upon the same Rock,
‘ on which the *French* were shipwreck’d just
‘ before.

THE

THE
MODERATOR.

WHILE a Bill relating to the Peerage, which, it is said, will be soon offer'd, to the House of Commons, is at present the Subject of every Conversation; I shall make no Apology for using the Privilege of an *Englishman*, and offering my Thoughts of it, to the Publick.

I am tempted to do so, because I think I have observed, that the Persons who either Write, or otherwise Declare for or against this Bill, have, with the usual Zeal of contending Parties, a little overshot themselves: That while one Side will allow nothing in the Bill to be good, and those who oppose them seem to assert it cannot be mended, they have both equally run into Extremes; have been forced to draw such Conclusions, as do not necessarily follow from their own Premisses; and

and to leave unanswered, or take no notice of the strongest Objections of their Adversaries.

To avoid these Inconveniencies, which usually happen in all Disputes, and would hinder every Controversy from being brought to a fair Issue: In the Universities and other great Assemblies, there has been constantly some Person appointed for a Moderator, whose proper Business it is to hinder the Disputants from launching into Declamations wide of the Question, to state the Arguments used on either Side in their full Force, not to admit of a weak or evasive Answer, and finally to give his Judgment upon the whole.

I shall for once venture to assume the Office of *Moderator* in the present Dispute; and cannot help flattering myself, that I am not altogether unqualify'd for it, since my Behaviour in Relation to the Publick has been such, as has long since acquired me the Title of a *Whimsical*; a Name, which at present is of the same Import with that of a *Trimmer* formerly, and which each Party of late Years has agreed to bestow upon those Men, who act impartially without any private Views, who will not follow them in all their Lengths, and fall in with all their particular Passions and Prejudices.

In the following Pages I shall endeavour to put in a fair Light, all the Arguments which
have

have been, or, as I conceive, may be properly urged for and against such a Bill, as it is said will be offered to the House of Commons; by which, I hope, it will appear, that if the present Ministry has shewed an Inclination to favour such a Bill, it has been with a real Design to serve the Publick; that it will be proper to lay hold on this good Disposition, which has appeared in them; but that as few Projects are brought to Maturity at first, it will be impossible the Bill should pass in the Shape it is at present talked of.

The First and Chief Argument for the Bill is, That *it will prevent any future Ministers making a Number of Peers for any particular Jobb, of which there was a flagrant Instance in a late Reign.*

Answer. But who can hinder malicious People from asking, whether we are sure that our present Ministers, if they could get Fifteen *New Peers* made together, and give the Sixteen *Scots Peers*, now in the House an Hereditary Right to their Seats, would not bargain with them for some few *Jobbs*, and exact an implicit Compliance from Persons on whom they conferred such extraordinary Favours. The Bill, in the Shape it is talked of,
may

may anticipate an Evil which is very remote, and but barely possible. It is true, that a daring Minister did, in a late Reign, make Twelve Peers together on a particular Occasion; but it is as true, that this Action was at that Time generally condemned, and has been since made the Subject of an Article of Impeachment against him; so that while a Prince or Ministry will keep any Measures with the People, or have any Regard for their Affections, this Instance, instead of being a Precedent for what may be done, will be a standing Proof of what may not be done.

Second Argument for the Bill. *The Number of Peers, which is at present a Grievance, will by this Means be limited, Property kept in the House of Commons, and Men of great Estates and Abilities continued there, from whence the present Frame of our Constitution permits them to be taken, and added to the House of Lords, at the Will of the Crown.*

Ans. It must be confessed, that our Peers are in Possession of so many very extraordinary Privileges above the rest of their Fellow-Subjects, that a Commoner cannot wish to see the Species increased; and for this very Reason will, in all Probability, refuse his Assent to such a Bill as is talked of. Such a Bill

C

would

would immediately add *Thirty-one* to the Number of *British* Peers; and in *this Instance*, as well as the former, would immediately expose us to a *certain* Mischief, even during the Reign of a *Good* Prince, which is but *barely possible* under the Administration of a *Bad* one. Such a Remedy is as odd, as if a Man should run into the Fire to avoid being burnt, or murder himself immediately, because it is possible he may dye of a Fever *Thirty Years* hence. The particular Circumstances of Affairs might perhaps make it necessary, upon his Majesty's first Accession to the Throne, that he should confer the Honour of Peerage upon several of his Subjects, who had remarkably distinguished themselves in supporting the Interest and cause of his Family: But there is no Reason to doubt, that when his *Faithful* and *Disinterested* Ministers shall represent to him, that the great Number of Peers begins to be a Grievance; and that whereas King *Charles* the Second, in *Thirty-six Years* Time, added only *Eleven* to the Number he found; his Majesty, in less than *Five Years*, has already added *Ten*; there is no reason to doubt, but that on such a Representation, his Majesty would be a little more sparing in conferring the Honour of Peerage: So that probably in all his Reign, which we have Reason to hope will be *long* and

and happy, there would not be so great an Addition to the present Number of Peers, as we are now *immediately* threatened with by this Bill.

Third Argument for the Bill. *The Addition of Nine Scots Peers is but reasonable in itself, and will make Things easy in Scotland, by taking in the best Families; and as for the excluded Peers, though their Case may be a little hard, it is an allowed Maxim in our Law, that A Mischief is better than an Inconvenience; or, in other Words, that Private Persons must submit to some Hardships, when it is in order to come at a Publick Good.*

Ans. The Addition of Nine Scots Peers will, in all Probability, be so far from making Things *Easy* in Scotland, that those Peers will lose their Interest in Scotland from the Moment they are made Peers of Great Britain; nor is it at all unlikely, that, such a general Discontent will appear in Scotland, tomented by the excluded Peers, as may immediately be made an Argument for augmenting the Number of our Forces, and constantly keeping up a *Standing Army*.

The Addition of these Scots Peers, after the Manner projected, is so far from being reasonable in itself, that the Consequence of it must be, Either that we should have *too many Scotsmen* in the House of Lords, or *none*
at

at all. The first would be no small Hardship on the *South Part of Great Britain*, the last on the *North*. If the *Scots Peers*, notwithstanding this Charge in their Condition, should, upon *certain Occasions*, act with that Unanimity for which they have been so remarkable, they would be a much greater Weight in our House of Lords, than it was thought reasonable they ever should be, at the Time when the two Kingdoms were united, and might determine most Points of Consequence, on which there should happen any Division, as they pleased. The Bill for repealing the Act against Occasional Conformity was carried in the House of Lords by *Eighteen Votes*; and the D. of *Ar-----*, with the *Sixteen Scots Peers*, made *Seventeen* of the Number that Voted for it. The same Bill was carried in the House of Commons but by *Forty One*, and *Thirty Seven Scots Members* voted for it there. This Instance is given without any Design to enter into the Reasonableness of that Bill, but purely to show, that in an Assembly where People are frequently divided in their Opinions, any considerable Number of Men united together may hold the Balance, and turn the Scales as they please. But if, on the other Hand, which is very possible, the projected Change in the Condition of the present *Scots Peers* should make

make them immediatly look upon themselves altogether as *British* Peers; if they should have no Inclination to cross the *Tweed* again, or to see their *Quondam Brother Peers*; who may possibly take it into their Heads, that they have been used a little unkindly; if, in a word, they should think of getting Places, Pensions and Establishments here; of settling among us, and drawing their Fortunes over to them, as soon as possible; the Peerage of *North Britain* would be certainly the most *Unfortunate* Body of Man in his Majesty's Dominions; nor could they any longer flatter themselves, that they had *One proper Representative* in the *British* Parliament.

It must be confessed, that the Case of those *Scots* Peers, whose Capacity of sitting in the House of Lords would be taken away by this Bill, is very deplorable. Upon the Union of the Two Kingdoms, they were content to part with their Privilege of sitting in the *Scots* House of Lords and being *constantly* a Part of the Legislature, and to be also rendered incapable of ever sitting in the *British* House of Commons, which several of them had been Members of before, upon this *single Consideration*, namely, That whenever a New Parliament should be summoned in *Great Britain*, they might elect Sixteen Persons out of their own Number, to represent them in every

every such Parliament: And by this Article of the Union, every individual *Scots* Peer has a Right to give his Vote, every New Parliament, for such Persons as he shall Judge, from their *best Behaviour*, most proper to represent the Body of *Scots* Peerage; and is in a Capacity of being elected himself to be one of the Representatives of that Body. When this is the Case, nothing can well be conceived more extraordinary, than that the Sixteen *Scots* Noblemen, lately chosen by their Fellow Peers to represent them only during this Parliament, should seize upon this Honour for themselves and their Heirs for ever; and take from those very Persons, by whose Votes they were sent up, the Privilege of ever being either *Electors* or *Elected* in any future Parliament. Notwithstanding this, the Truth of that Maxim laid down in the last Argument for the Bill cannot be denied, *viz.* That *Private Persons must submit to some Hardships, when it is to come at a Publick Good*; but then it must appear upon the whole, that a Bill, in the Form now talked of, is *absolutely necessary* to attain to what is said to be chiefly intended by it.

Fourth Argument for the Bill. *The House of Lords who are one Part of our Legislature, having unanimously shewn an Inclination to consent to such a Bill, we may reasonably suppose it to be a Good one.* *Ans.*

Ans. This ought to be so far from being an Argument with the *Commons*, that it ought to alarm, and put them upon their Guard: A Number of Men divided into different Parties, and whose Animosities have been heightened by many particular Circumstances, can scarce be supposed all of them to agree to any new Project, for altering the Constitution they live under, unless this Project be of such a Nature, as to increase the Power of that Body, of which they are Members; so that they may all find their Account in it. It will be very difficult to give any other Reason for that most *surprizing and unheard of Unanimity*, which has appeared among the Lords, on the present Occasion. One of their Lordships is said to have had the Ingenuity frankly to confess, he acted upon this Motive: But should the Commons assume that Liberty in their Debates, which his Majesty's most gracious Message seems to entitle them to, and should take the *present State of the Peerage* into their Consideration, it is highly probable they would rather come to a Resolution, that their Lordships have *too much* Power already, than entertain any Thoughts of giving them *more*.

I have now laid down the *strongest Arguments*, which I conceive can be urg'd in Favour of such a Bill, as is talked of, with the *fairest Answer*; which have, or, I believe, can be

be given to them; the latter carry their Objections to the Bill along with them: But I have purposely avoided hitherto, the mentioning Two Objections, which some who oppose this Bill chiefly insist upon; *viz.* That it is an *Alteration of our Constitution*, and a *divesting the King of his Prerogative*. I am my self obliged to declare with the Impartiality of a *Moderator*, that if the End, *said* to be proposed by the Bill, be good, as I think it must be allowed to be, and if there were no other Objections to such a Bill, I do not see how these *Two* would conclude against it. That Constitution must be a very bad one, which has not a Power of amending, from Time to Time, such Faults as shall appear in its own Frame: We have certainly sometimes mended our Constitution; and if the ancient Prerogative of the Crown had not been taken away, in several Instances, we should have wanted some of the best Laws we are in Possession of. Yet when thus much is fairly granted, it must be allowed on the other hand, that the Foundations of our Constitution, and the Prerogative of the Crown, are much too sacred for every *hot Head* to make *new Experiments* upon, nor ought ever to be meddled with, but when it is *absolutely necessary*; and when the Evil to be remedied is to be cured no other Way. I can by no means think this

is the present Case: Our Ministers, enflamed with a laudable Zeal for the Good of their Country, and willing to provide Remedies against the *remotest* Evils, which might possibly happen to our Posterity, have shewn an Inclination to prevent their Successors from having a Power to make a Number of Lords at once, to do particular Jobbs. This Design is certainly highly commendable; and, I hope, we shall so far profit by it, as to obtain an Act of Parliament, That no Lord shall vote in the Upper House within two or three Years after his becoming a Member of it. This will most effectually, and to all Intents and Purposes, remedy an Evil which might fall upon us, should we ever happen to have a *Set of Ministers* wicked enough to boggle at *no Means* to attain *ill Ends*: I might add, that such an Act, as has been mentioned, would not only effectually prevent the Evil, which is chiefly dreaded; but would, in all Probability, put a Stop to the increasing the Number of Peers, since Men of active Spirits, and conspicuous for their Parliamentary Abilities, whose Requests to the Crown look most like Demands, would hardly care to be placed for so long a Time in a State of Inaction. If, as we have been told, His Majesty has been pleased to shew an Inclination to free his People from all future Apprehensions of such an Accident as

D

has

has once happened, there is scarce any Room to doubt, but that the Royal Assent will be more easily gained to such an Act, as I have mentioned, which effectually provides against the Evil dreaded; and will, however, leave the Prerogative of making Peers entire; than to such a Bill as is generally talked of, whereby this Prerogative would in a Manner be wholly taken away.

I must confess I am very fond of this *Middle Way*, which I take to be very agreeable to the Character of a *Moderator*; and shall therefore endeavour to shew those People who have declared for such a Sort of Bill, as has been talked of about Town, that it is almost impossible such a Bill should ever pass.

Is such a Bill either *Just*, or *Necessary*? Is it *Just* with Relation to the excluded Lords? Or *Necessary* to attain that End for which the Patrons of it would persuade People it is wholly intended? It is scarce to be believed the Ministers would appear for it; since it might give malicious People a Handle to say, they must have *a great many Jobbs to do*, or they would never make such an Addition to the present Number of Peers, generally thought to be too large already. Their Enemies might even pretend to suspect, that when they have got *One and thirty New Lords* added to their Friends who are in the House already,

ready,

ready, and shut up their Doors, secure of a Majority in all Events, they might set up for *perpetual Dictators*, bully their Prince, and bid Defiance to all Impeachments from the Commons.

A Bill, in such a Shape as this is represented, as it would aggrandize the Lords, must in some Degree affect the Liberty and Property of every Commoner in *England*: And I wou'd desire any Impartial Man to lay his Hand upon his Heart, and answer one single Question, *viz.* If such a Bill was brought into a House of Commons, where none of the Members were to be biassed by Places, Money, Hopes or Promises, *how many Votes does he imagine there would be for it?* I fancy I can guess at his Answer, and that it would be such an one as I might conclude from it, that it is impossible such a Bill should pass thro' our House of Commons.

Upon the whole: The having a Number of Lords made at once to carry particular Points, is an Evil which all Honest Men of all Parties would be glad to be delivered from the Apprehensions of, for the future.

This may be done by two several Bills. But the Question is, Whether one of these Bills would not change our Constitution, take away a Prerogative from the Crown it has ever been in Possession of, break through the Articles

cles of Union, give the Peerage of *North-Britain* too much Reason of Complaint, afford a Pretence for a Standing Army, increase the Power and Number of the Peers, which are both said to be too great already, affect the Liberty of every Commoner in *Great Britain*, raise a Suspicion in some Persons that a *new Plan of Government* is forming, and that *Two or Three Men* are aiming to place themselves above the Reach of their Prince or the Law?

The Second Bill will effectually remedy the Evil complain'd of, without being accompanied with any one of all the several Inconveniencies above-mentioned.

I was present at the Debates of the House of Lords, as well as a certain Author who has wrote upon this Subject, and it was with the utmost Pleasure that I heard the Noble Lord, who is generally said to be our *First Minister*, declare several times, that the *only Thing* he aimed at, was to hinder a *Number of Peers* from being flung into that House *at once* to do *particular Jobs*; I cannot therefore doubt, but that such a Bill, as has been last mentioned, will be preferred to such an one as is generally talked of; and that neither his Lordship, nor any of the Ministers, will give the least Occasion for so obvious a Reflection, as, *That he who will not be contented with what is necessary to attain the End he PROFESSES*

to aim at, does in Reality WANT something he is AFRAID to NAME.

Here endeth the Moderator, Mr. D'Arvers, which brought the Debate in Question to a good End, for the Bill was thrown out; and this eminent Piece of Service done to the British Constitution was, I believe, chiefly owing to the Cogency of Mr. Budgell's Arguments in the foregoing Piece, without proceeding to Number II.

This pernicious Bill was likewise opposed by Mr. Addison in two excellent Tracts written by him under the Title of the *Old Whig*, and for what Reason they are left out of his Works is best known, I presume, to Thomas Tickell, Esq;

That eminent Lawyer Richard West, Esq; late Lord Chancellor of Ireland, likewise wrote an admirable Treatise against this Bill, with regard to the *Precedency of our Peerage*; Sir Richard Steel likewise wrote his *Plebeian* upon this Occasion; but to do Mr. Budgell strict Justice, in the strictest Sense, his Arguments to me seemed more universally prevalent than any of the rest. I heartily commiserate his Misfortunes, and am pretty confident it will shortly appear, that this Gentleman's Enemies are much more disorder'd in the Integrity of their Principles than he is in his Senses.

I Have all Mr. *Budgell's* Writings safely laid up in my little Rural-Repository of *Letters*, and really think him, with you, *one of the finest Writers of the Age*; his Translation of the *Characters of Theophrastus* is the Performance of a Masterly Pen, and the Diction of the Version perfectly conformable to that his *great Original*: An excellence rarely to be found among our modern Translators.

And now Mr. *D'Anvers*, I shall close my small Packet to you, by introducing among the melancholly Distresses, Mr. *Budgell* has for some Time past undergone, one Scene of Mirth, his incomparable *Epilogue* to the *Distrest Mother*; this Performance being a full Proof, that whenever he is pleased to give his Pen a Poetical Turn, he has an equal Vein either for the most exalted, as well as humorous Species of that kind of Writing.

EPI-

EPILOGUE
TO THE
DISTREST MOTHER.

A
TRAGEDY.

BY

Mr. Ambrose Philips.

Written by Mr. *Budgell*, and spoken by Mrs. *Oldfield* (who acted the Part of *Andromache*, *Hector's* Widow, Captive to *Pyrrhus*, and Mother to *Astyanax*) viz.

I HOPE you'll own, that with becoming Art,
I've play'd my Game, and topt the *Widow's* Part.
My Spouse, poor Man! cou'd not live out the Play,
But dy'd commodiously on Wedding-day:

While I, his Relict, made at one bold Fling,
My self a Princess, and young *Sty* a King.

You Ladies, who protract a Lover's Pain,
And hear your Servants sigh whole Years in vain;
Which of you all wou'd not on Marriage venture;
Might she so soon upon her Jointure enter?

'Twas a strange 'scape! Had *Pyrrhus* liv'd till now
I had been finely hamper'd in my Vow.

To

To dye by one's own Hand, and fly the Charms
Of Love and Life, in a young Monarch's Arms!
'Twere a hard Fate—e'er I had undergone it,
I might have took *one* Night—to think upon it.

But why, you'll say, was all this Grief exprest,
For a first Husband, laid long since at Rest?
Why so much Coldness to my kind Protector?
—Ah Ladies! had you known the good *Man Hector*!
Homer will tell you, or I'm misinform'd,
That, when enrag'd the *Græcian* Camp he storm'd,
To break the ten-fold Barriers of the Gate,
And threw a *Stone* of such prodigious Weight,
As no two Men cou'd lift; not even of those,
Who in that Age of thund'ring Mortals rose:
—It wou'd have sprain'd a dozen modern Beaus.

At length howe'er, I laid my Weeds aside,
And sunk the *Widow* in the well drest *Bride*.
In you it still remains to grace the Play:
And bless *with Joy* my Coronation Day:
Take then, ye Circles of the Brave and Fair,
The *Fatherless* and *Widow* to your Care.

Till the next Opportunity, I remain, honest Mr.
D' Anvers,

Your Well-Wisher,

constant Reader,

and humble Servant,

The *British* FREEHOLDER.

F I N I S.



